42 Vanoverbergh E-5 (no date) 1936-1938 OA1 Philippines
Apayao OA5
Isneg

462 The same may be said with reference to simple and ordinary carpentry, in which most all Isneg are more or less expert. Indeed
335 when there is question of building a new house, the whole agglomer-
868 ation is summoned to take part. Nevertheless one or more men, more skilled than the rest, usually take the lead, and others do what they are told; in the meanwhile the youngsters pick up whatever they can according to each one's capacity of understanding and skill of hand.

462 Baskets are woven by the women, while the weaving of bownets
285 falls to the share of the men. In both cases young people learn the
868 work merely by imitating what is done by their elders.

462 Perhaps the only kind of work that is performed among the Isneg
326 by special craftsmen, and not by everybody indifferently, is that of
868 the blacksmith, and here again boys learn by imitation. While still
184 small, they merely go and look, but once they have attained their tenth year or so, they help their elders and learn the profession through practice. This is the more easy, as such occupations are not monopolized by a few individuals in each agglomeration, but are professed by the whole settlement or at least by several families, in a very restricted number of places.

868 One subject in which a boy generally receives formal instruction, at least if he wants to learn it, is that of managing a boat, of handling an oar, a paddle and a pole: the father is the recognized teacher of his offspring in this respect; but the whole is of course limited almost exclusively to places that are situated along the Apayaw in its lower course. In a few other places, parents teach their children how to manage a raft, but such teaching is generally much less formal, at least when there is only question of crossing a stream or of travelling over parts of a river that are easy to pass, as most youngsters, girls not excluded, will have seen their elders at work, and will try to imitate them without the necessity of such teaching. An occasional plunge rarely does them any harm, as the majority swim like rats, and those who would not float in case of taking an involuntary bath usually do not take the risk of trying to manage any water craft without the help of others.

D. RELIGIOUS EDUCATION

771 And now we come to the fields of religion and morality, which, in the case of the Isneg, seem to have each their own rather well-defined sphere, without encroaching the one upon the other, at least in so far as morality is concerned with man's duties to his fellow men. Nevertheless generalities are of little or no value, so I shall try to give as

with a row of feathers; a head band of small beads, *sajaban;* earrings, *lubay;* a necklace of larger beads, *ambusao;* red spangles hanging from back of the head, *bajuoyboy;* red spangles hanging on forehead, *pati;* small anklet beads, *pasag;* a bead wrist band, *sinali,* and a silver ring, *sankilat.* Her lips are made red with betel nut, *ma-ma,* and she makes a charming picture. The man also has a striking appearance, being dressed in his breechcloth or G-string, *abag;* red-embroidered black pull-on shirt, *baddo;* bag, *pulsa;* neckband with a handsome shell breast-piece, *bising;* and an ornamented head dress formed of red and blue cloth entwined in a turban, *linijot.* This is topped with odorous leaves.

The people have no knowledge of weaving or pottery making. They obtain their clothing, pots, salt, and other materials from Ilocano traders in exchange for their honey, beeswax, rope, baskets and mats.

FAMILY LIFE AND OCCUPATIONS

The people live in substantially constructed houses which have artistic lines. The usual size is about 20 x 34 feet. In building a house, the four long, sturdy corner posts and two central side posts are first set in the ground. They are shaped from some very hard and durable timber such as *molave* or *ipil.* On these posts the structure is framed with heavy, hand-hewn lumber. The timbers are so neatly hewn with miter, bead, feather, and tongue joints that they do not require further fastening. The roof is finished first. Three heavy, well-braced trusses rest on the posts. Their bearing, or upper sides are hewn into an outward bow which will shape the roof in an equilateral

342 arch, and the end peaks of the ridge are extended out-
335 wardly to a remarkable distance. The roof line runs from these peaks in long, graceful inward curves down to the corners of the building. Two by four inch purlins spaced at about six feet are placed on the trusses; and over these are bent the two by two inch roof rafters, spaced at about a foot, on which is laid a mat of *runo* (a tall reed-like grass) stalks. On this support is fastened, shingle-fashion, a thick layer of *runo* tops, which have long leaves. This thatch will probably last for fifteen years before it needs renewal. Durable rattan is used for all fastenings. The two by twelve inch floor joists are set about a foot apart on heavy sills some twelve feet above the ground. The flooring is a mat of long lengths of pencil-sized round rattan. The floor sills are secured to the insides of
[352] the posts; while the wall sills are on the outside. The two-foot space between is finished in a low, raised platform running around the four sides of the room. This is used for sitting, and for storage of various articles, leaving the floor clear. The walls are of hewn inch boards placed perpendicularly and set in grooves cut in the top and bottom sills. There are three very small windows on each side of the house and one small door on one side toward an end. The wooden cover-
[417] ings of these openings, close flush with the walls. En-
[355] trance to the door from the ground is gained by a
[231] ladder which is pulled in at night. There are also several dogs which start howling at the slightest unusual noise. Thus, the occupants are quite secure from their enemies at night.

[352] There is little furniture in the house. On the
354 floor near one corner, opposite the door, is placed a

24:Scott H,M-4,5 (1954-1960) 1966
OA19 Ifugao
Igorot OA20
Benguet
Apayao OA5
Isneg

on the joists, as are the four sills *(opop)* mortised into them which receive the wall-boards *(dingding)* in rabbeted grooves. About waist-high the walls are strengthened by a kind of moulding *(balkes)* running around the four sides, and the upper ends of the wall-boards are fitted into beams called *goanan* (the equivalent of the Ifugao *wanan)*. Small tie-beams or crossbeams *(anayasan)* run from side to side from front to back, resting on these *goanan,* and carrying two kingposts *(kalasod)* which support the ridgepole *(bobongan)*. The ridgepole is longer and the rafters *(dagat)* shorter in the Bokod house than in most Mountain Province houses, so the exposed walls are given protection by a wide-flaring set of eaves *(sibey)* requiring their own rafters *(tikel)* with supporting braces *(sedngal* or *tedmek),* three on a side. The proportions of the Bokod house make it possible to walk upright under the eaves, which is possible in only some of the Ifugao houses and none of the Bontoc houses. Moreover, the square floor plan characteristic of the Southern Strain is sometimes extended into a rectangle by the addition of posts or another girder or floor joist.

The characteristics of the Northern Strain can be seen at their most sophisticated in the ingenious Isneg house (Fig. 6) with its rafters bowed into the shape of a Gothic arch, its floor and roof supported on completely independent series of posts, and the floor itself having slightly raised platforms along both sides. The Isneg floor plan, in contrast to the square houses higher on the Cordillera, is conceived in an elongated form, the underpinning vaguely suggesting marine architecture to the layman, with girders sometimes exceeding 24 feet, thus doubling the longest timbers of the buildings of the Southern Strain.

24:Scott H,M-4,5 (1954-1960) 1966
OA 19 Ifugao
Apayao OA5
Isneg

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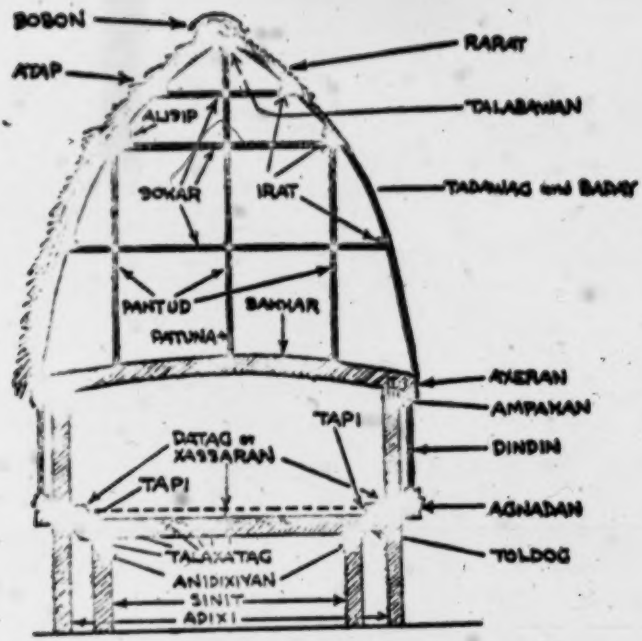

Fig. 6. -- Isneg *binuron*-style house. The diagram is a composite of an unoccupied house built about 1905 in *barrio* Magabta, Kabugao, and another unoccupied house in *sitio* Mallitaw, Namaltugan, examined on 18-20 April 1956; terminology taken from "Isneg Buildings" by Morice Vanoverberg, CICM, *The Philippine Journal of Science*, Vol. 82, No. 1 (March 1953), pp. 77-108.

[114]
[113]

Southern Strain. Each of these two long girders (*anadixiyan*) is mortised into the top of three posts (*sinit*) which elevate the floor to about the height of a man's shoulder, and across these girders are eleven floor joists (*toldog*). The actual flooring (*datag* or *xassaran*), however, is a mat of bamboo grass or rattan, and it rests on a series of thin laths (*talaxatag*) mortised into the upper surface of the joists, parallel, therefore, to the girders beneath. Also riding on the joists are two longi-

[824]

24:Scott H,M-4,5 (1954-1960) 1966
OA19 Ifugao
Apayao OA5
Isneg

tudinal beams or stringers *(tapi)* whose top surface is about three inches higher than the flooring and into which are mortised, at the same level, four longer crossbeams *(agnadan)*—two at one end of the house and two at the other—which protrude a foot of more beyond the ends of the joists. Mortised into the outer ends of these crossbeams are their horizontal equivalent, sills into which the base of the wall-boards *(dingding)* are rabbeted; and between these sills and the parallel stringers short laths are also mortised to support a sort of flooring platform or seat about a foot wide along both sides of the house.

A remarkable feature of the Isneg house is the way in which the roof is supported on posts which are set in the ground *outside* the floor-supporting posts but *inside* the wooden walls of the house, passing up through the little side platforms. These six posts *(adixi)* carry two longitudinal beams *(ampakan)*, while three crossbeams *(sakkar)* are mortised into either the posts themselves or the *ampakan*-beams. Fitted into the outer ends of these crossbeams are longitudinal beams serving both as a base for the rafters *(tadawag* and *baday)* and as the upper track for the wall-boards, the appropriate groove being deep enough to allow the boards themselves to be lifted up and slipped out of the lower groove so that the house can be converted into a kind of open covered platform. From the crossbeams also rise a kingpost *(patuña* or *pantud)* and two queenposts *(pantud)*, across which are three tiebeams *(sokar)* terminating in three purlins *(irat)* on each inner face of roof, which is a base of reeds *(rarat)* to which the grass roofing *(atap)* is lashed. The rafters themselves, alternately wood and reed, are bowed into a graceful arc, and rise to a ridgepole *(talabawan)*

24:Scott H,M-4,5 (1954-1960) 1966
OA19 Ifugao
Apayao OA5
Isneg

342
335 which protrudes beyond the ends of the house to pro-
192 tect the smoke holes in the gables.
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The Isneg house not being square in plan, its op-
341 posite ends are quite different from one another. At
342 one end, just outside but a bit higher than the transverse
335 beam into which the upper ends of the wall-boards are
[824] rabbeted, is another transverse beam whose upper edge is grooved to receive a second tier of wall boards which close the upper section of the gable save for a few feet at the top which are left open as a smoke hole or only loosely covered with horizontal bamboo. The other end of the house terminates in a kind of transverse platform or annex with a lean-to roof up against the gable itself; at the outer two corners of this little annex, in line with the full width of the building, are two more *sinit*-posts under the wall itself, a circumstance which has led some observers to report with slightly dramatic exaggeration that the floor, walls and roof of the Isneg house are supported on three separate sets of posts. The floor of
[513] this annex is slightly higher than even the little side
[562] platforms of the house proper; Cole reported fifty years ago that it was a special sleeping area for men,[104] and H. Otley Beyer recalls that women were not even al-
342 lowed to set foot there.[105] In the long sides of the house three or four windows are produced simply by omitting some of the wall-boards; since the door opens into one of these sides, however, it might be more appropriate to refer to it as the "front" rather than "side".
[417] Entrance is gained by means of a permanent short flight of steps or ladder.

[113] [104] Cole, Fay-Cooper, "Distribution of the Non-Christian Tribes of Northwest Luzon," *American Anthropologist*, new series, Vol. XI, No. 3 (July-September 1909), p. 347.

[105] Personal statement during interview in Manila on Feb. 19, 1962.

24:Scott H,M-4,5 (1954-1960) 1966
OA19 Ifugao
Kalinga OA24
Apayao OA5

In the Mabaca Valley which flows along the northern edge of Kalinga Sub-Province on the Apayao border and into the lower Saltan River just before that stream joins the Chico River at Pinokpok are other houses of the "pure Northern Strain," — that is, elongated and gabled. They do not duplicate, however, the complexity of the Isneg roofposts interwoven, as it were, between the walls and floor joists, and they have front doors entering the end of the house opposite to the annex or lean-to which here is a distinct room serving the purpose of kitchen rather than a kind of open platform. A photograph of a Pinokpok house taken a half-century ago[166] shows the sills carrying the wall-boards to be mortised into the roof-supporting posts, three on a side, with two more posts in between these three rising to the roof inside the wooden walls. In upper Mabaca and Buaya, these "extra" posts which have not been merged with the wall structure do not appear, the houses being shorter and the weight of the roof being distributed by enlarged purlins the size of the ridgepole itself, one on each side. These sturdy purlins form the fulcrum across which the rafters are bent, giving the roof on close inspection the shape of two shallow arcs rather than the continuous graceful curve of the Apayao roof. The pressure thus brought to bear on the purlins requires them to be carried at both ends on posts just as sturdy as the other roof-supporting posts, standing just outside the walls of the house at front and back. In Conner district of Apayao, similar houses have these purlin-supporting posts worked into the gabled wall as an integral part by mortising.

[166] The author is indebted to Dr. H. Otley Beyer for making this and other photographs available.

24:Scott H,M-4,5 (1954-1960) 1966
OA19 Ifugao OA19
Apayao OA5
Isneg

The side areas are naturally more used for storage than the center and sleepers lie across the center section with their heads pillowed on the upper (indeed, in Manangol the stringers are called *pongan*—pillow), but the urgency with which the northern architect works this feature into his houses is hard to explain by recourse to such minor considerations. Nor does it seem plausible as an incidental feature consequent to the peculiar Isneg interlocking floor joists and roof posts — to say nothing of the fact that the Apayao house would appear rather too complex to serve as the prototype of the other varieties bearing the Northern Strain. Rather, one would suspect some common parent from which the Kabugao, Mabaca, and Kalinga *kulub*-style houses sprang and matured independently. Perhaps a clue is to be found in the honor which was presumably afforded the end platforms in the old Isneg houses, and the origin of the two-level floor sought outside the Philippine archipelago.

CONCLUSION

Two distinct types of simple houses were inhabited by the old swidden farmers of the Cordillera Central — the *abong*-style by the Kankanays and proto-Bontocs of the southwestern heights, a double lean-to built directly on the ground, and the *kulub*-style by the Kalingas of the northeastern foothills, a square bamboo shed with an entrance at ground level and a partial floor at two slightly different levels on an independent set of posts. An original granary-shaped house standing on three joists on two girders on four posts developed in Ifugao, and spread to Benguet (reaching the Inabaloi of the upper Agno valley only after they had already adapted for themselves a kind of lowland-style house), Lepanto and